PAINE'S

POLITICAL AND MORAL

MAXIMS;

SELECTED FROM

THE FIFTH EDITION

OF

RIGHTS OF MAN,

PART I. AND II.

With Explanatory Notes and Elucidations; additional interesting Observations on the present State of Public Affairs; and important information for the benefit, not of the House of Commons at *Westminster*, but of the whole Commons of Great Britain and Ireland. And an Introductory Letter to Mr. Paine.

BY A

FREE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.

"Writers there are, who, whatever may be their object, carry on their attacks by *sap* rather than *assault*.

Life of Thomas Paine, p. 93. Philadelphia;

Said in the Title to be by Francis Oldys, A. M, of whom there is no such person; and the real Author is a clerk in office at Whitehall.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

1792.

16 1835
Maclachlan

TO

MR. THOMAS PAINE.

SIR,

If I did not consider you as a man of the most liberal sentiments, guided by motives superior to those which direct the conduct of the generality of men who are ranked as public characters, I should stand in need of a powerful apology, for offering to the public an epitome and analysis of your excellent treatises on the Rights of Man, together with such remarks as I flatter myself will have a tendency to enforce, extend, and perpetuate the sound maxims of true policy and moral rectitude contained in them.

But to an author who asserts and maintains freedom of speech and action upon all occasions, when the religious and civil liberties of mankind are at stake; who avows and adopts that fundamental principle of civil society, which declares, "That individual inconvenience must give way to public good;" and who reprobates all monopolies, and discards every idea of selfishness; it will be necessary only to declare the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God! with respect to the following sheets.

Convinced that your tracts contained a body of information, the general communication of which must prove highly beneficial to the whole Commons of Great Britain, if properly understood; yet, that they likewise contained much extraneous and exceptionable matter, foreign to the main subject, and calculated rather to weaken than to strengthen the cause they were meant to serve; a lively imagination, and impetuous zeal having, in the opinion of myself,

myſelf, and many other moderate men, equally the advocates for the Rights of Man, tranſported you beyond the bounds of reaſon and equity. It was therefore earneſtly wiſhed, and much expected that ſome of your numerous friends would *analyze*, that is, reſolve your compound work into its firſt principles, and rejecting every thing that deviated from them, reduce the whole to preciſion, and regular order. It was obſerved, that like ſome preachers, you had ſpoiled the TEXT, by unneceſſary amplifications, tedious digreſſions, and conſequent tautologies. It was thought, that a clear ſtatement of your *incontrovertible* Maxims, made eaſy to common underſtandings, and diveſted of all indecent reflections on characters and ſtations in public life, which mankind, from the earlieſt ages, have been taught to revere, would prove more beneficial to the maſs of the people, than the whole of the two parts of your Rights of Man, which beſides, are fixed at too high a price to be purchaſed by thoſe, whoſe intereſts are moſt deeply concerned in the information they communicate.

Many months, however, have elapſed without any appearance of ſuch a digeſt of your valuable work; and this was conſidered as the more extraordinary, it being well known that ſome of your friends were likewiſe the friends of that great and good man the late Dr. Price, who was an honour to humanity, to his country, and to his profeſſion; and he was adviſed ſoon after he had publiſhed his firſt edition of *Obſervations on Civil Liberty*, to print for general circulation, another edition on coarſe paper, at ſo ſmall a price as *three pence*; this precedent, as nearly as poſſible, ſhould have been followed with reſpect to your more uſeful tracts.

Under this idea, a writer of eſtabliſhed reputation, hitherto unknown to you, has undertaken the taſk, and has made the following analyſis of the Rights of Man, a vehicle to convey to the public ſome obſervations which he wiſhed for a fair opportunity to communicate; and he further declares, that the *laſt ſheet* was at preſs, before he ſaw the re-

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ſolutions of the Conſtitutional Society, to print a cheaper edition of your treatiſes. It was therefore too late to retreat; the bookſeller had an intereſt involved with that of the writer; and it depends on you, Sir, by expreſſing your approbation or diſapprobation, to add the writer, who is intimate with many of them, to the number of your reſpectable friends, or to let him remain ſtill a ſtranger to your perſon, though an avowed admirer of your diſtinguiſhed talents, and univerſal PHILANTHROPY.

I ſhall cloſe this letter in the ſame free ſtyle, which runs through the former part of it. I will cheriſh, I will circulate, I will ſupport to the laſt hour of my exiſtence, thoſe *incontrovertible* principles, which I have taken from your treatiſes and arranged compactly, or in other other words, connected, and joined together in ſuch a manner, that they muſt ſtrike the general reader more forcibly than when diſjointed, detached, and thrown at a conſiderable diſtance, in order to introduce ſome extraneous matter, bearing little or no relation to the grand ſubjects of your work.——And I defy your adverſaries to point out one ſingle Maxim amongſt thoſe I have preſerved in the following pages, which ought not to be communicated to, and clearly underſtood by, the *free-born* people of every nation upon earth.

But I have rejected, and will as much as poſſible diſcard from my remembrance, thoſe unmanly, thoſe indecent reflections, and that groſs abuſe which you diſperſe up and down, in a work (in other reſpects invaluable) on perſons whoſe ſtations render it impoſſible for them to make uſe of the common remedies to heal the wounds of inſulted honour. The aſſault is cowardly, unworthy of the cauſe, in which the champion of the Rights of Man ſtands forth, and wantonly inſulting, becauſe every argument againſt monarchy, its hereditary ſucceſſions, and combined corruption and profuſion, would have applied with equal force, and with much better grace might have been carried forward to future periods.—It would be romantic to ſuppoſe that the preſent poſſeſſors of thoſe high ſtations ſhould quit them immediately, at the word of command of the ad-

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vocate of the Rights of Man;—it could therefore answer no good purpose to vilify them, or to endeavour to lessen them in the eyes of the people, by empty ridicule.

In a word, my plan has been to render you and the public an essential service, by putting the Maxims which bear your name, upon the respectable footing of ROCHEFAUCAULT, MONTESQUIEU, and other eminent political writers, whose great works have successfully undergone the same operation to which I have subjected your's; regardless whether your natural genius, which appears to me to be very extraordinary, has inspired you with the same sentiments which guided the pens of all the celebrated writers on the Religious and Civil liberties of mankind; or whether by the force of much reading, close application, and strong judgment, you have been able to borrow from the lights which shone before you, Maxims, which will now no longer rest upon your single credit, however high it may stand in the republic of letters; but upon the corroborating testimony of those ancient and modern authors, to whom I have referred your adversaries, in one of my strictures on their conduct, for the truth of this observation.

I am, with respect for your virtues, and compassion for your infirmities,

SIR,

Your true friend,

THE FREE-BORN BRITON.

London, May 15, 1792.

P. S. A loose, unguarded style, and some inaccuracies may be traced in the following pages, not calculated to stand the test of that pedantic criticism, which George Chalmers has exercised upon your Rights of Man, under the masque of the Rev. Mr. Oldys. The candid reader will attribute such defects to the pressure of time, there being a necessity to compose, print, and publish within a very short space.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Rights of Man, as afferted and maintained by the found reafoning of Mr. Paine, a lafting monument is raifed to liberty; and the eyes of the oppreffed, who form by far the major part of the human fpecies, in moft of thofe countries, which proudly call themfelves civilized nations, are fo clearly opened to all the forms and fhapes under which political impoftors practife their public extortions and delufions, ecclefiaftical and civil, that neither the mandates, nor the bribes of prime minifters, the fophiftry of political cafuifts, the delufive powers of oratory, nor the foothing adulation of fycophantic courtiers will ever be able to clofe them again.

But let it not be imagined, that an enlightened people, becaufe their rights are afcertained and made public, and the means of remedying many intolerable grievances by temperate, conftitutional reforms, are pointed out, will all of a fudden become political madmen, or wild fpeculative theorifts, ready to embrace every innovation, and to pull down a fabric erected by the wifdom of ages; at the inftigation of any one man, or any fet of men whatever.

Material alterations for the better may be brought about in well-conftituted governments, and fuch is that of Great Britain, in principle, though not in modern practice, without revolutions; and, bad as the ftate of affairs was in France, it is highly probable, that if the nobility, the fuperior orders of the clergy the poffeffors of great landed property amongft the commons and all other wealthy citizens, had taken warning in time, and had attended to the bold and energetic remonftrances of the parliaments; to the *firft* general ftatement of the national income and expenditure, and of the corrupt adminiftration of the finances publifh-

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ed by Neckar; and to the ſteady refuſal of the parliaments to regiſter *edicts* of taxation, under the then impoveriſhed ſtate of the lower claſſes of the people—or if, finally, they could have diſcarded that narrow, ſelfiſh *maxim* which is the diſgrace of the preſent race of little *Great Men*, in more countries than one—that of ſitting quiet under the worſt circumſtances of a nation, and conſoling themſelves with this daſtardly reflection, "It will laſt our time:" how many Archbiſhops, Dukes, Earls, Counts, Biſhops, and Abbots, who thought their rich poſſeſſions fully ſecured during their ſhort lives; but are now convinced by ſad experience—"that it could not laſt even their time,"——

—"Might ſtill have borne their bluſhing honours
"Thick upon them."

Conſcious, that under the old government they were the oppreſſors, by excluſive privileges, immunities, monopolies, unmerited penſions, ſinecures, and other indirect means of wringing from the hard hand of the needy peaſant and labourer the beſt fruits of their induſtry; and of eluding their proportionate ſhares of the burthens of the ſtate; they ought to have *foreſeen* that a wretched ſyſtem of partial oppreſſive taxation could not proceed beyond certain limits; and that it was arrived at its *ne plus ultra* in France ſome years prior to the late Revolution.

Then it was that the affluent nobility and clergy, and all other opulent ſubjects in the kingdom, ſhould have taken the ſalutary advice given in *print* by the commiſſioners appointed by the Britiſh parliament to examine, take, and ſtate the public accounts of the nation. In their eleventh Report, dated Dec. 4, 1783 *, of which the following is a tranſcript.

"Where the reſources of a country (Great Britain) are ſo

* Publiſhed by Stockdale 1784, and declared by Lord Mansfield to be a moſt clear and diſtinct ſtatement of the preſent ſituation of this Country, with regard to its public revenue, and the real ſtate of its finances.

ſo extenſive, ſo various and productive, a ſpirit of frugality univerſally diffuſed and kept alive cannot but be attended with the moſt powerful effects. The ſubjects of this kingdom are opulent, generous, and public ſpirited: let the diſtreſſes of their country be fairly laid before them; and let that intereſt they and their poſterity have in this *conſtitution* be appealed to, and they will *contribute* chearfully and liberally to her relief. The ſubject ſhould have no doubt, but his contributions for the public ſervice, find their way *undiminiſhed*, without deviation or delay, to their proper objects. The evil does not admit of procraſtination, *palliatives*, or *expedients*: it preſſes on, and muſt be met with force and firmneſs. Let *public benevolence* take the lead of *private intereſt*; example may produce much, and muſt begin ſomewhere. An extraordinary and unprecedented conjuncture in the finances of a country may require extraordinary and unprecedented efforts. Every man may dedicate a portion of his income, or ſome ſhare of his affluence, according to his faculties, to this great national object: let the produce of ſuch a general exertion be wiſely directed and faithfully applied; and the national debt, *enormous as it is*, will begin to melt away; and every man, who contributes to ſo great a work, will feel the conſolation reſulting from the diſcharge of the moſt important of his duties, by having aſſiſted in relieving public diſtreſs, reſtoring public credit, and averting a national calamity."

Here, was a noble admonition, equally ſuited to the then actual circumſtances of France and England; but what reception did it meet with? It was diſregarded by both, though in ſome degree attended to in the former kingdom, when it was too late to prevent a revolution. At home, the NESTOR of the age, the venerable MANSFIELD, in his ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords, February 4, 1784, declared, that it contained matter highly intereſting to every individual of the community poſſeſſed of landed or funded property. Another ancient ſage of the law, and a brother peer, was ſo forcibly ſtruck with this obſervation, that after a careful examination of the report, (if we miſ-

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take not), he summoned the House, in order to make a motion relative to it: supposed to be of the nature of that measure which was too tardily taken in France: when the nobility, beginning with the Duke of Orleans and other opulent persons, contributed a *fourth* part of their annual incomes to the immediate relief of their distressed country. Whether the immaculate PITT did not approve of the plan, or what other impediment came in the way, we dare not declare—the power of the House of Peers to punish severely the publication of unwelcome truths may perhaps be hereafter abolished *. But it can be no libel to notice here, what is known throughout the kingdom; that *procrastination*, *palliatives*, and *expedients*, have been the ways and means persisted in, now, nearly nine years, by the *wonderful* minister! and a deceitful system of diminishing the national debt, is substituted in the room of a benevolent contribution from the opulent inhabitants of the country. We have a Duke of Bedford, but no Duke of Orleans, &c.

Is it not then high time to learn lessons of wisdom, from whatever quarter they are communicated, whether from an American secretary to Congress, or a French National General, from Tom Paine, or the Marquis de la Fayette. We need not follow them, or any other man into the labyrinths of republicanism—we may cull the roses, without pricking our fingers with the thorns.

The Bill, if we may use the expression, when metaphors of every kind are the fashion—the Bill of the British constitution is an excellent bill; sound and true in its principles, but in passing through the national Committees which new times and circumstances have established and rendered essentially necessary, its most enthusiastic admirers must allow that it may receive some material amendments for the benefit of the community at large. The chief merit of Mr. Paine's

* The Court Calendar for 1784 or 1785, will shew who was made one of the Lords of the Admiralty at that juncture, and is now a Lord of the Treasury, *sub silentio Patris*.

Paine's pamphlets consist in pointing them out, and reasoning clearly upon the equity, expediency, and sound policy of adopting them; nor has he done more, in many instances, than support the opinions of men of the first eminence amongst us, in and out of parliament, delivered in their speeches, or in their writings upon various occasions; but never, as we remember, urged so home, or enforced so strongly, in bold, manly, free, and undisguised terms.

But what will the despicable tools of ministerial power say to the following assertion, founded in strict truth. The best political writers, the highest in esteem, throughout Europe, who have long been held in veneration, have handed down to the present generation all the general, all the liberal maxims, concerning religion, law, and civil government, to be found in Paine. Whether he ever read those authors or not, we cannot ascertain; but certain it is, that their essence is collected and applied to the present state of our executive government, which will by no means stand the test of the best political institutes: the constitution will; but *the present mode of administering that constitution* must shrink from the comparison. And this is the reason, that foolish Mr. Rose of the Treasury trembles on the bench, and the crafty clerk in Lord Hawkesbury's office carries on his base attacks against Paine by *sap*, fights him under the mask of a Philadelphia parson, fit disguise for the most impudent falshoods that ever were published; and stabs him in the dark. But, of this upstart clerk at the *Cockpit*, more hereafter.

Before we proceed to a regular digest of Mr. Paine's Maxims, we will take the liberty to remind his cowardly antagonists, that in all ages there have appeared men of extraordinary abilities, who, without the advantages of finished university-education, have surpassed, even in literary eminence and public utility, the best scholars of their time. Professional men report, that there are many more profound lawyers and better scholars in this kingdom than the Lord Chancellor, but they will not pretend to produce

duce a man of ſuch ſtrong natural parts, and extenſively uſeful talents. Such a *Bear* is worth the keeping at London, at Rome, or in any country upon earth; and had he been chained to an oar at the galleys, and fed upon bread and water a few years before his promotion, by feeling diſtreſs himſelf, he would have learned humanity, and not have ſteeled his heart againſt the cry of the poor priſoner for debt; he would have reflected, like a benevolent ſtateſman, on the cauſes which have filled our jails; he would have remembered that the neceſſities, real or ſuppoſed, of the nation under miniſterial management, have increaſed the burdens of tradeſmen, manufacturers, and artificers to ſuch a degree, that the tax-gatherers are ſcarcely ever from their doors.

Surely, after a painful ſervitude of ſeven years, every young man has a right to eſtabliſh himſelf as a maſter in his art or trade; but if he fails in this, from the undermining arts of ſome great monopolizer with an immenſe capital, or through rack-rent, the neceſſity of fallacious appearances, the extravagant price of good proviſions, and the weight of taxes moſt rigorouſly levied,—"Let him rot in priſon, there ſhall be no releaſe, no inſolvent-act; neither the mercy of the Jewiſh, nor of the Chriſtian law ſhall be followed." A general liberation every ſeven years was the policy of our forefathers: Set the priſoner free, redeem the captive, ſays the Scripture; and ſo ſaid GEORGE THE SECOND, and his Chancellor LORD HARDWICKE.

Give to Thurlow the milk of humanity, and he will be the firſt of men—as it is the benevolent Tom Paine, with equally ſtrong natural parts, has the advantage; for he has removed the prejudices which kept two powerful nations, almoſt perpetually at variance, and has contributed to diminiſh the number of priſoners of *war*, inſtead of ſetting his face againſt every propoſition for reſtoring the father to his children, the huſband to his wife, and the induſtrious ſubject to the ſtate.

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In Britain it is ſafer to be a *thief* than a *debtor*; want of evidence, the talents of an able counſellor, or the pathetic oratory of an eloquent one, may ſet the thief at liberty in a few hours; but in this once happy land of freedom, the debtor is left without remedy, to pine away the remainder of a wretched life at the mercy of a hardened creditor *.

In fine, there cannot be a greater proof of the neceſſity of diſplaying and circulating ſuch declarations of the religious

* The confinement of vaſt numbers of uſeful hands in priſons for debt, is one of the moſt inhuman, unmanly, and impolitic ſteps that ever diſgraced a people aſſerting a ſpirit of liberty. An abſolute power is given to one individual over the perſon of another in England—the land of freedom—if he ſinks under the weight of this arbitrary power, if he dies, no inquiſition is made for his blood——The king was not his creditor, yet he quietly acquieſces in the loſs of a ſubject, who might, if he had been releaſed, have contributed to agriculture, population, manufactures, trade, navigation, or the defence of the ſtate. All civil governments founded for the happineſs of mankind lay it down as a maxim—that the intereſt, convenience, and often even the eaſe of individuals, muſt be ſacrificed to the public good: Admit this principle, and then tell me with what juſtice can the Britiſh government allow the locking up ſo many uſeful members of ſociety yearly for debt.

I take up this ſubject in a political and commercial light; but as I am ſenſible many will object that credit would be at a ſtand, and the courſe of trade impeded, if debtors were not puniſhable for failures; I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that there are various modes and degrees of puniſhment, which ſhould always be proportioned in affairs of property to the injury done to individuals; but ſociety ſhould have a power of reclaiming its ſhare of the perſon of every one of its members; no puniſhment, therefore, to be inflicted by any individual for an injury not made a capital crime by law, ſhould extend to depriving the ſtate for ever of the utility of a ſubject.——*Mortimer's Elements of Commerce, Politics, and Finances*, 4to, laſt edit. 1783.

gious and civil rights of man, than the conduct of those men in power, and their agents, who, in the elegant language of Mr. Sheridan, both in and out of parliament, loudly exclaim, "That the present is an improper time to bring forward any proposition for reforms in the constitution, or the redress of any grievances." For every succeeding ministry will undoubtedly say the same, in order to protect and shelter themselves under this fallacious system; that the constitution itself is endangered by any attempt to make the most salutary alterations or amendments; whereas, the perfection of that very constitution consists in its principle of admitting continued reforms. It is but a bad compliment to the British constitution to assert, that it is dangerous to meddle with it, or to propose reforms, such assertions appeared to him grossly *libellous*; the British constitution is not so brittle or decayed, as to be endangered by a touch or an examination. On such an authority then, which exceeds that of George Chalmers, as much as the soaring eagle in his towering flight excels the stupid flutter of the leathern-winged bat; let us concisely state those maxims, political and moral, which are calculated to promote the general welfare and happiness of mankind.

PAINE'S

PAINE'S

POLITICAL AND MORAL

MAXIMS.

1. THE rights of man must be traced up to the creation of man; for if we take the definition of them from any record of antiquity short of that, we must be deceived by the contradictory statements of them under different forms of government, at different and distant eras: But as they subsisted prior to the formation of all civil governments, we must recur to the time when man came from the hand of his Maker. What was he then? MAN: That was his high and only title, and higher cannot be given him. The Mosaic account of the creation is full to this point, the *unity* or *equality* of man. The expressions admit of no controversy—"And God said, let us make man in our own image. In the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." The distinction of sexes is pointed out, but no other distinction is even implied. So far PAINE—and all the systems of civil government recommended by those eminent political writers and philosophers, Cicero, Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, Harrington,

Harrington, Sidney, Locke, De Wit, Bolingbroke, Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Mirabeau, David Williams, and many others proceed upon this principle, to ingraft the civil on the natural rights of man given to him originally by his Creator. As to the high-ſounding titles of Emperors, Kings, Dukes, &c. &c. &c. which came into play long after, they are thus lightly eſtimated by Alexander Pope:

A wit's a feather, and a chief's a rod;
An honeſt man's the nobleſt work of God!

Yet the runners and clerks in office to miniſters in Pope's days were not employed to vilify and abuſe him in Billingſgate language in any daily print they can hire, and in the ſhops of ſuch *piratical* bookſellers as *Vamp* the *Second* in Piccadilly, which has been the caſe with reſpect to Tom Paine.

2. The genealogy of Chriſt is traced to Adam; Why then not trace the rights of man to the creation of man? I will anſwer the queſtion; becauſe there have been upſtart governments thruſting themſelves between, and preſumptuouſly working to unmake man.

3. If any generation of men ever poſſeſſed the right of dictating the mode by which the world ſhould be governed for *ever*, it was the firſt generation that exiſted. Every generation is equal in rights to the generations which preceded it, by the ſame rule that every individual is born equal in rights with his cotemporary.

Conſequently, all men are born equal, and with equal natural rights, in the ſame manner as if ſucceeding races of men had been continued by *creation* inſtead of *generation*, the latter being only the mode by which the former is carried forward; therefore every child born into the world muſt be conſidered as deriving its exiſtence from God. The world is as new to him as it was to the firſt man that exiſted, and his natural right in it of the ſame kind.

4. The civil rights of man originate from his natural rights. Man does not enter into ſociety to become worſe than

than he was before, nor to have fewer rights than he had before; but to have those rights better secured.

Natural rights are those which appertain to man in virtue of his existence—of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or the rights of the mind; and also all those rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happiness, which are not injurious to the natural rights of others.——Civil rights are those which belong to man, in right of his being a member of society. Every civil right has for its foundation some natural right pre-existing in the individual, but to the peaceable enjoyment of which his individual power is not in all cases sufficiently competent. Of this kind are all those which relate to security and protection.—He therefore deposits his natural rights in the common stock of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition to his own. Society grants him nothing. Every man is a proprietor in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.

5. Civil power, properly considered as such, is made up of the aggregate of that class of the natural rights of man, which becomes defective in the individual, in point of power, and answers not his purpose, but when collected to a focus becomes competent to the purpose of every one.

6. The several sources from which civil societies or governments have arisen, and on which they have been operated, may be all comprehended under three heads: First, Superstition. Secondly, Power. Thirdly, the common Interests of society, and the Common Rights of Man.——The first was a government of priestcraft. The second, of conquerors, and the third, of reason.

When a set of artful men pretended, through the medium of oracles, to hold intercourse with the Deity, as familiarly as they now march up the backstairs in some European courts, the world was completely under the government of superstition.

After this a race of conquerors arose, whose government, like that of William the Conqueror, was founded in pow-

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et, and the sword assumed the name of a sceptre. Governments thus established last as long as the power to support them lasts; but that they might avail themselves of every engine in their favour, they united fraud to force, and set up an idol which they called *Divine Right*, and which, in imitation of the Pope, who affects to be *spiritual* and *temporal*, and in contradiction to the founder of the Christian religion, twisted itself afterwards into an idol of another shape called *Church* and *State*. The key of St. Peter, and the key of the treasury became quartered on one another, and the wondering, cheated multitude worshipped the invention.

7. All the religions known in the world are founded, so far as they relate to man, on the *equality of men*, as being all of one degree. Whether in heaven or in hell, or in whatever state man be supposed to exist hereafter, the *good* and the *bad* are the only distinctions. Nay, even the laws of government are obliged to slide into this principle, by making degrees to consist in crimes, and not in persons. In other words, constituting degrees in crimes without distinction. So likewise in religion.—

Thou shalt do no murder, is a general commandment; it does not except Emperors, nor those vile princes calling themselves Christians and Protestants, who sell their subjects to be slaughtered, and under the specious denomination of *war*, commit murder by wholesale: nor yet those infamous ministers, and corrupt representatives of the commons, who hire by subsidiary treaties, companies and regiments of their fellow creatures, either to be murdered, or to commit murder.

8. The natural and religious unity of man is a truth of the greatest importance, and of the highest advantage to society. By considering man in this light, and by instructing him so to consider himself, it places him in a close connection with all his duties, whether to his Creator, or to the creation of which he is a part; and it is only when he forgets his origin, or to use a more fashionable phrase, his *birth* and *family*, that he becomes dissolute. It is not among

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the least of the evils of the present existing governments in all parts of Europe, that man, considered as man, is thrown back to a vast distance from his Maker, and the artificial chasm filled by a succession of barriers, or a fleet of turnpike gates through which he has to pass.

9. "The duty of man is not a wilderness of turnpike gates, through which he is to pass by tickets from one to the other;" and to pay a toll at each to Kings, Prime Ministers, Nobility, Archbishops, Bishops, and other lordly priests. No, "his duty is plain and simple, and consists but of two points. His duty to God, which every man must feel; and with respect to his neighbour, to do as he would be done by." And on these two points hang all the law and the prophets. But corrupt administrations of government cannot be supported by adhering to them. If those to whom power is delegated do well, they will be respected, if not, they will be despised.

The next subject of discussion at large, in the order of our analysis of Mr. Paine's pamphlet, should be the civil rights of man under any given form of government that has already existed and been established many centuries; or under any new system of policy that has arisen in our day, or may hereafter arise, as the direct effect of the improved understanding of mankind, or as the result of successful revolt from intolerable ministerial oppression. But before we enter this extensive field of investigation with an intention to cull its natural flowers, and to root out its noxious weeds; it seems necessary to make some enquiries concerning the nature and origin of power, by which the civil rights of man are secured, and made as permanent as the condition of mortals will admit.

Upon close examination we do not find that Mr. Paine has advanced a single syllable on these points, which is not either derived from, or supported by much earlier, and better authorities than Henry Dundas, William Pitt, Charles Jenkinson, senior, *alias* Lord Hawkesbury, or any of their associates, male or female.

OF POWER.

The freedom of individuals, secured by the wisdom and integrity of the body politic, was the first object of all wise and honest legislators; and they differed only in the mode of attaining it. Hence are derived the different forms of government that have prevailed in the world.

To the rights of natural liberty there ever belonged a reciprocal obligation, not to molest others in the enjoyment of the same rights; but the force of separate interests, and of the passions prompted men, in their primitive state, to a violation of this reciprocal tie.

The proud, the lustful, the savage, and the robust, disturbed the tranquillity of the meek, the temperate, and the virtuous, on whose natural rights they made the most shameful encroachments, either by fraud or violence: as, therefore, man through necessity had associated with his own species to defend him from other animals, so now it became as necessary to secure him from the assaults of his fellows; which could not be effected by any other way, but by surrendering, in a great measure, his natural liberty into the hands of one or more persons, who, by the common consent of all the members of the association to which he belonged, should be invested with the authority to govern the rest; and armed with power to enforce that authority. Thus men submitted to be governed; and the restraints laid on natural liberty, by the institutes of government, gave it, as it were, a new creation, and a new name; for it thenceforth became CIVIL LIBERTY.

Can any thing more be wanting, to prove that all power originates with the people, and that it may, nay, that it ought to be modified, improved, or upon just grounds, resumed by those from whom it sprung. Where then is the honesty, the justice, or the wisdom of the clamour raised against the late Dr. Price, Priestley, or Paine, for reminding the people that they possess this inherent right. And it is not only absurd, but base in the extreme, to deny that

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the natives of Great Britain poſſeſs that right, which we have ſeen claimed and exerciſed by the inhabitants of other countries, aſſociated for that purpoſe. The United States of Holland aſſerted and maintained it, when they ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke, with the aid of England, in the happy age of Engliſh virtue.

America, France and Poland, have in our day aſſerted the ſame grand principle, to be the foundation of all good government; yet in London, the ſeat of the Britiſh government, vile miſcreants countenanced by people in power, fill our daily papers with groſs abuſe, and impudent falſehoods, to vilify characters far ſuperior to their own, and in one breath, to traduce American, French, Dutch, Poliſh, and Britiſh patriotiſm.

Dr. Price only committed one error, that of aſcribing to a defective revolution the acquirement of three fundamental rights, which are derived from a purer ſource—from Almighty wiſdom and equity in the original creation of the mental as of the corporeal powers of man.

From God himſelf he derives the following rights, enlarged upon by the celebrated diſſenting divine, in his famous ſermon, preached on the 4th of November 1789.

1. The people of England, or the people of any other country upon earth, have a right collectively to chooſe their own governors.

2. To caſhier them, that is, to ſuſpend, to remove, or diſcard them for miſconduct—for miſrule, in themſelves, or by deputies.

3. To frame a government for themſelves—for all power abuſed to an extreme, which defeats the end for which it was eſtabliſhed, reverts to the ſource from whence it was derived; and reſides in the Majeſty, or Sovereignty of the people, to be exerciſed in a new election of governors. MORTIMER, a veteran political and commercial writer of ſome repute at home and abroad*, whom we

* The great and little biographers, Prieſts, Lawyers, Juſtices, Women and Children, who have tortured and twiſted into

we have before had occasion to mention; long before the French Revolution, long before Paine emerged from a private station to be the mainspring in the new fabric of American freedom.—In the year 1772, published the same principles traced up to the highest written authorities upon the origin of governments in his Elements of Politics, page 243, where he says, "The advantages of this change (from natural to civil liberty) are too evident to be called in question. It is true, civil liberty differs from natural, in that it divests individuals of the free disposal of their persons and actions, and lodges it in the hands of their rulers; but they are thereby secured from the lawless rapine and violence of malevolent individuals; and they acquire three very considerable rights by civil liberty:

1. "That of insisting, that these Rulers or Sovereigns shall make a good use of their authority; particularly by insuring to them that protection in consideration of which they resigned their natural liberty.

2. "That of demanding or exacting from their rulers solemn

into every shape and form under heaven, each look, word and gesture, of their demi-god Dr. Johnson, to their no small emolument; have either omitted, or were ignorant of the following anecdote, which can be verified, if occasion should require it, on oath. A Foreigner of distinguished rank, and a man of letters, asked Johnson in a company of literati, if he knew such a living author as Mortimer.—The Doctor, who had a happy facility at not knowing persons whom he deemed infinitely inferior to himself—replied—No Sir, there is no such man amongst us—You must be mistaken, Sir, nobody knows him.—A few days after this, a gentleman of some eminence in the republic of letters, and upon a sufficient footing of intimacy with the learned Doctor to look into his library, occasionally found therein one of the *eleven* editions of Mortimer's treatise on the funds, entitled, *Every man his own Broker*, with numerous passages marked by Johnson, which shewed that he had perused it with studious attention.

ſolemn promiſes, covenants and oaths, for the due performance of their reſpective duties.

3. "The right of claiming the aid and ſupport of all good men, of their own, and other ſocieties, to enable them to compel their governors to proteſt them in their civil rights and immunities, or, on failure thereof, to remove them, and eleſt others more worthy to govern."

No fulminating, unmaſked Jeſuit, inheriting all the ſcurrility of Cicero, without his genuine love of his country: no pitiful clerk in office, now crawling on his belly, and licking the duſt, in the view of raiſing his head aloft hereafter, and being rewarded with the coronet and robe for doing the dirty work of miniſters, part of which is to ſpread falſe alarms of intended revolutions, and levelling principles, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, in order to furniſh a pretext for abuſing men much honeſter and more worthy of promotion in the ſtate, than themſelves—dared to controvert theſe principles, avowedly forming part of a plan for finiſhing the education of young gentlemen having proſpects of being called into public life.—Yet this author's work paſſed through two editions during the adminiſtration of Lord North, an unpopular miniſter, whoſe true character will not be underſtood till ſome years after his Royal Maſter, Earl Mansfield, General Howe, and himſelf ſhall be gathered to their forefathers. The intrigues of courts cannot be penetrated, much leſs delineated impartially, while the principal actors on the political ſtrange are in being—ſtrange diſcoveries are brought to light, in after times, by the joint aid of curioſity, induſtry, and due influence to get acceſs to, and poſſeſſion of mouldering papers—witneſs Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, Thurlow's State Papers, and many others of a ſimilar complexion.

But alas, poor Paine! future hiſtorians muſt ſay of thee! he flouriſhed in the reign of Pitt the Second, the greateſt political impoſtor of the age in which he lived *; who with

* If the Life of the Author of this pamphlet is ſpared till the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament, he hereby pledges himſelf to prove it beyond a doubt. But the in-

with matchleſs effrontery and with a long-legged, hop, ſtep and jump up the back ſtairs, leaped into the firſt office in the kingdom, ſnatched up the keys of the Treaſury, turned alchymiſt, took into partnerſhip the jaded hackney-horſe of Lord North's adminiſtration, and became editor *ſouſmain* of more than two thirds of our daily and evening newſpapers—deſtroying that beautiful uniformity of printing, which the lazineſs of modern printers had long eſtabliſhed, in order to introduce in large capitals

NINE MILLIONS

of the national debt paid off to this day, by Mr. Pitt's wiſe and oeconomical adminiſtration of the finances—without adding

FIVE MILLIONS OF EXCHEQUER BILLS

floating in the market; renewed year after year, during the above *lull-a-by* exhibition, on the ſame plan, as that of a private man, who borrows money on his note of hand at twelve months after date, and when it becomes due, deſires his creditor to take a new note for another year—and another—and another ſtill! Alas, poor Paine! thou art to be *perſecuted*, if not proſecuted by this haſty, pudding adminiſtration made up of ſhred, and patches—of odds and ends—barely for repeating the political maxims of the earlieſt and lateſt uncorrupted writers on government, legiſlation, and the civil and religious rights of man!

In further proof of this, before we diſmiſs the article of power—let us adduce in evidence; the declaration of rights of the French National Aſſembly; the conſtitution of the United States of America; and the new conſtitution of Poland.

FRANCE. The repreſentatives of the people of France, formed into a National Aſſembly, conſidering that ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or contempt of the rights of man, are the ſole cauſes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have reſolved to exhibit, in a ſolemn declaration,

veſtigation of political and financial operations muſt neceſſarily be ſlow, eſpecially while documents of office are withheld, even from reſpectable members of the Britiſh parliament.

ration, the natural, unalienable, and facred rights of man; in order that this declaration, ever prefent to all the members of the *facial body*, may inceffantly remind them of their rights, and of their duties; to the end that the acts of the legiflative power, and thofe of the executive power, being every moment compared with the object of all political inftitutions, may acquire the more refpect; in order alfo, that the remonftrances of the citizens founded henceforward on fimple and inconteftible principles, may ever tend to maintain the conftitution, and to promote the general good.

For this reafon, the National Affembly recognizes and declares, in the prefence, and under the aufpices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man, and of a citizen.

1. All men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights: focial diftinctions cannot be founded but on common utility.

2. The end of all political affociations is the prefervation of the natural and imprefcriptible rights of men: thefe rights are *liberty*, *property*, *fecurity*, and *refiftance againft oppreffion*.

3. The principle of fovereignty refides effentially in the nation: no *body* of *men*, no *individual* can exercife an authority that does not emanate exprefsly from that fource, &c. &c. &c.

POLAND. Staniflaus Auguftus, by the grace of God, and *the will of the nation*, King of Poland, &c. &c. &c. together with the Confederate States affembled in double number to repreffent the Polifh nation.

In the name of God ONE in the holy TRINITY! Perfuaded that our common fate depends entirely upon the eftablifhing and rendering perfect a national conftitution; and convinced by a long train of experience of many defects in our government—— we *do folemnly eftablifh the prefent conftitution*, which we declare wholly inviolable in every part, till fuch period as fhall be prefcribed by law; when the nation, if it fhould think fit, and deem it neceffary, may alter by

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its *express will*, such articles therein as shall be found inadequate.

Definition of Public Powers.

Article V. All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty, and the good order of society, on an equal scale, and on a lasting foundation. Three distinct powers shall compose the government of the Polish nation, according to the present constitution, *viz.*

1. The *legislative* power in the states assembled.

2. *Executive* power in the King and the Council of Inspection.

3. *Judicial* power in jurisdictions existing or to be established.

America. The first establishment of the American new government, demonstrated their firm belief, that all power in every civil society, as well at its commencement, as at any future period of its existence, ought to flow from the people—not from any number, or body of the individuals, whether distinguished by the titles of Associations, friendly Societies, or Clubs, but from the collective community, or main body of the natives.

On this principle, each of the thirteen States of America has an internal government for the management of its domestic affairs: but, for the conducting such matters of general concern, as equally relate to all the several parts, each of the States sends deputies to meet in Congress, who, when met are called, The United States in Congress assembled.

American Constitution.

Article I. All the legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate, and a house of Representatives.

Sect. 2.

Sect. 2. The houſe of Repreſentatives ſhall be compoſed of members choſen every *ſecond* year, by the people of the ſeveral States, and the Electors in each State, ſhall have the qualifications requiſite for electors of the moſt numerous branch of the State Legiſlature.

Sect. 3. The Senate of the United States ſhall be compoſed of two Senators from each State, choſen by the legiſlature thereof, for ſix years.

No perſon ſhall be a ſenator, who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been *nine* years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he ſhall be choſen.

No perſon ſhall be a Repreſentative who ſhall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been ſeven years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State, in which he ſhall be choſen.

ARTICLE II. The executive power ſhall be veſted in a Preſident of the United States of America. He ſhall hold his office during the term of four years; and together with the Vice-Preſident, be choſen for the ſame term, by electors from each State.

We need not proceed any farther in our inquiries into the genuine unperverted ſource of power and rational diſtribution of its parts. We ſhall therefore cloſe this head with one fair queſtion, put to the wretched tools of adminiſtration, and ſupporters of the hereditary rights of princes, paſſive obedience, and other ſlaviſh doctrines.

Where do you Edmund Burke, George Chalmers, and others of the ſame ſtamp, find that *levelling* principle in any of the conſtitutions here laid before you, with which you charge Paine, the Conſtitutional and all other ſocieties in England, who aim at, and do every thing in their power to reſtore the adminiſtration of our excellent conſtitution to its firſt principles? Does not every page of Paine's pamphlet ſupport the pre-eminence of the American conſtitution, to the foundation of which he ſo largely contributed? Is there not a regular gradation of well-divided

power,

power, and little difference between that conſtitution, and the Britiſh in its original purity—except a variation in empty titles. Preſidents and Vice-Preſidents, inſtead of Kings and Vice-Roys—Senators, inſtead of Peers—together with ſuch an amelioration of the repreſentatives of the people, as ought to put you and all your adherents to the bluſh?

For ſhame then, ye hirelings of an audacious Premier, deſiſt from ſcribbling thoſe unmanly, thoſe daſtardly paragraphs which appear daily in the *World*, the *Herald*, and other newſpapers; and beſtow the numerous petty *ſums* of *ſix* ſhillings for each miniſterially ordered abuſe and falſehood, on ſome charitable inſtitution in your reſpective neighbourhoods.

Finally, on the ſubject of order, with reſpect to the gradation of power, Paine juſtly obſerves, " that the French conſtitution puts the Legiſlative before the Executive. The Law before the King, *la Lei, le Roy* .This alſo is in the natural order of things; becauſe laws muſt have exiſtence before they can have execution." And with much more reaſon ought it to be thus in a limited monarchy, where the King acknowledges himſelf to be the firſt ſubject of the laws by his coronation oath.

Of Government.

Before we enter upon an examination of the merits, or demerits of governments, it may be neceſſary to requeſt our readers vigilantly to guard againſt that confuſion of ideas which the adverſaries of true civil liberty endeavour to introduce whenever they are inveſtigated, in order to terrify the people with groundleſs fears of an intended ſubverſion of our excellent conſtitution. But ſenſible and diſpaſſionate men will not be thus miſled; they will digeſt Paine's political aphoriſms, rejecting with us, every thing indecent, every thing extravagant, and inapplicable to that conſtitution; but at the ſame time, if there are but two grains of wheat hid in a buſhel of chaff, they will conſider it as a patriotic duty to extract them, to ſow them in the fertile

fertile ſoil of Britain, and devoutly to pray, that in due time, they may produce an abundant harveſt of national virtue—in other words—of ſalutary reformation.

1ſt. "As the preſent generation of the people of England did not make the government, they are not accountable for any of its defects; but that ſooner or later it muſt come to their hands to undergo a conſtitutional reformation, is as certain as that the ſame thing has happened in France." In this prediction we muſt heartily concur, remembering always, that in this paſſage, Paine has given the true title to the great change ſo lately made in the former government of France; all the writers and ſpeakers upon this ſubject in their own National Aſſembly, in our parliament, and elſewhere, are miſtaken in calling it a Revolution: and we defy them to prove that it goes beyond a bold, but noble reformation. Nor can any reaſon be aſſigned why the Reformation, ſo far as it went, which was eſtabliſhed by granting the crown to William and Mary, was not characterized by its proper denomination, except either to diſtinguiſh it from the Reformation under Henry VIII. which already formed an epoch in our national hiſtory under that title—or to ſhew, which is of more importance, that the right of election to the crown had revolved to the people, aſſembled in their national capacity, according to the true principles of the conſtitution, in *Congreſs*, or in *Convention*.

The government under James II. was a limited monarchy; the crown claimed and exerciſed undefined prerogatives, and extended them ſo far, as not only to become oppreſſive, but intolerable, and the rights of the people being at that time either not clearly aſcertained or wilfully miſunderſtood: a redreſs of grievances became abſolutely neceſſary: the weak and bigotted monarch, inſtead of compliance, fled from a conflict, conducted with due decorum, and opened the door to a noble Reformation, accompliſhed with that prudence and moderation which will ever attend national, not party reformations in this kingdom. But the conſtitution remained unchanged, the adminiſtration

miniſtration of that conſtitution alone, underwent a conſiderable reform. The monarchy was more ſecurely limited; the rights of the people better aſſured; and national felicity eſtabliſhed on a firmer baſis—but unfortunately, theſe great objects once attained, there reſulted from the mode of attaining them, a ſyſtem of finances, capable of ſuch a latitude of operation, as might in the end, bring back a ſtate of degeneracy and corruption in the adminiſtration of the government, requiring freſh information. Whether this has been the effect produced by an enormous national debt or not, muſt be left to the deciſion of more candid reaſoners than Burke or Chalmers.

The conſtitution conſiſts of three eſtates, King, Lords, and Commons, independent of each other; if this independence then is by any political intrigues ſo far changed, that one of the three has a controuling power over the other two—the conſtitution is not in fact ſubverted, but the adminiſtration of it is become ſo corrupt, as to call loudly for ſpeedy, effectual reformation, and for exemplary puniſhment to be inflicted on the mal-adminiſtrators.

Having no deſire to be intimately acquainted with the Attorney-General, we ſhall not venture to give our opinion reſpecting the influence of the miniſterial power of the crown at preſent, on the proceedings of either houſe of parliament.

But we beg leave to put the following queſtion to the immaculate Pitt and his modeſt aſſociate, or rather his Maſter, Henry Dundas.

Does the following article of the court-creed form a part of our excellent conſtitution in Church and State.

The King's buſineſs (that is the court phraſe for the buſineſs of the nation) cannot be carried on unleſs the cabinet, the miniſtry, or the firſt miniſter, which all mean the ſame thing, *is ſure* of a decided majority, however obtained, in both houſes of parliament? No reply can be expected—inſtead therefore of expecting it from ſuch intereſted parties, let us ſtate the opinion of a ſenſible foreigner publiſhed

lished at London, in the year 1717, when prosecutions for *Libels* did not set up *Bastiles* in England.

Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsieur Mesnager at the Court of England, towards the close of the last reign (of Queen Anne) done out of French. London 1717, 8vo. Printed for S. Baker. "But I must do Mr. Harley * the justice, that if he was not so resolved at first in the measures taken—that is to say, for the dissolving of the parliament; yet he left no stone unturned in the managing the elections after he was come into it; and that he did then so effectually, and with so much judgment and success, that even the Earl of Godolphin lost all his elections in that which was called his own county. There was not a town where his interest was strong, but he saw himself supplanted; and an interest formed to oppose and overthrow him; the like success was seen in other parts; and in a word, it appeared that he (Mr. Harley) had laid his measures so true, and was served so punctually, that at the summing up of the numbers, the Whigs saw themselves distanced and outnumbered in a surprising manner as to the deputies of their lower parliament. As to the upper parliament, or upper house as they term it, he had his eye so intent upon that also, was so vigilant in taking his advantages, and dextrous in improving them, that he carried his point there also; as I shall note in its proper place.

"It is significant to observe, how little these people differ from us in France, in the effect of an absolute monarchy, after all the boasts they make of their liberty; the subordination of their kings to the sovereignty of the laws; the ancient rights of the people, which they call their birth right, &c. &c. seeing that by the power of court artifice, the influence of their money, and the management of subtle statesmen, the people are always made tools to operate in their own bondage; and to enthral themselves either

* Then in the same situation as the present minister Mr. Pitt, and having just taken the bold measure which served as an example to him—that of dissolving a parliament.

either to this, or that party, or prince, as effectually as if the said prince had them under his absolute direction—nay in this also, the English prince has the advantage; that this is done so by the agency of the ministers—that any tyranny is always charged upon them, and the prince is not blamed; and if ever the power of the law gets an interval to exert itself, it is the minister who bears the resentment, not the sovereign—of whom no more is desired but to change hands, and all things are quiet in a moment.

"It is true it has been otherwise, as in the example of King James II. but the reason of all that difference lay in the impolitic measures of the prince, who espoused his ministers to his own ruin, and took the whole upon himself; but wise princes in England have no more to do, but to let their ministers subject the constitution to the absolute will of the Sovereign, by the insensible degrees abovementioned, and the English are as easily made slaves as any other nations: nay, they will make themselves slaves, for they will sell and betray their own liberties and rights for money; as they effectually do, who sell their votes in the choice of deputies to parliament; and it is most certain, that such is the blindness and unconcernedness of the people of that obstinate nation, and so far are they from having any notion of the circumstances of their constitution, that whatever ministry comes in play, and will wisely dispose such sums of money as are necessary for the work, they shall not want a parliament to their mind; who may give up to them all those valuable rights that a nation can possess, who have *the best constitution* in the world."

Here, the sensible Frenchman speaks the language of a free-born Englishman; but the state of political freedom is changed since his time, in the two countries. In France at present, a man may speak and write his sentiments on public grievances which cry aloud for redress; in England, the only question is, whether he shall be condemned by the judges or the jury for speaking or writing the truth, supposing

ſuppoſing that truth reflects on the conduct of a double placed miniſter.

We are told day after day, that this is not the proper ſeaſon to attempt reforms. But if the ſame language could have prevailed, when it ought to have carried the day, the duration of parliaments extended from *three* to *ſeven* years, which was a greater innovation upon the *beſt conſtitution* in the world, than any that is now propoſed by the Conſtitutional Society; the Society of Friends of the People, or any other body of free-born Engliſhmen, who are now making ineffectual attempts to curtail miniſterial, which is in fact, deſpotic power in Britain; had not taken place.

As there have been no peers created through the influence of the immaculate PITT, from any other motive but that of rewarding diſtinguiſhed merit, and deſcendants from races of illuſtrious anceſtors, whoſe eminent ſervices to the nation merited ſuch honours to be conferred on their poſterity—we muſt congratulate our cotemporaries, on the reſtoration of the original purity of that branch of our conſtitution called the Houſe of Lords, which in the days of *Monſieur Meſnager*, he ſcandalizes in the following words:

" It is true, that at the ſame time a like reſerve about *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* *, was offered by the Whigs in the *Houſe of Lords*, where the court loſt it by one vote; but they valued not that, it being in their power to ſecure the votes of that part of the parliament, by creating and giving votes to as many as they pleaſed; which was done by the advice of the Treaſurer (Harley) to the number of twelve at a time. It gave me frequent occaſions to reflect upon the Engliſh nation, when I ſaw how they flattered themſelves with notions of great privileges which they enjoyed, and of their being more than other nations, ſecure of their liberties, which to me ſeemed a mere chimera;

 ſeeing

* In negociating the Treaty and ſubſequent Peace of Utrecht.

ſeeing I found that court managements were come to ſuch a degree of perfection in England, that all the liberties they ſo much boaſted to enjoy, were often entirely at the mercy of their princes; and that whoever reigned—and whatſoever *party* had the aſcendant with the Sovereign, they never need want a parliament to do their buſineſs, whether the deſign might be to preſerve thoſe liberties, or to deſtroy them—two ways I found they have, in that quarrelling and divided nation, to do this, *viz.* by money in the lower Houſe, or Houſe of deputies*, and prerogative in the higher Houſe; by the firſt, if the court was willing to ſpare enough of it, to bribe and influence elections, they have obtained ſuch members to be choſen, as were of their own party, and who getting in by corruption, would no doubt act by corrupt principles; and by the other, it was in their power as a prerogative, to make not *twelve* voices only, but *twelve-ſcore* at a time, and as often as they found cauſe, all which conſidered, it appeared to me, that it is owing to fate, and the good diſpoſitions of their princes, more than the ſtability of their conſtitution, that they are not long ſince fallen into a worſe condition of bondage, than what they think ours to be in France."

The deplorable ſtate of degeneracy into which our parliaments were reduced at the time the above minute was taken by Monſieur Meſnager, Paine reaſons upon as if the parliaments of our day were ſubject to the ſame corrupt influence; and we ſuppoſe it to be on this ground that Charles Fox, the celebrated *Man of the People*, has declared his writings to be a libel; probably he may think it in character to juſtify the integrity of the repreſentatives of the Britiſh Commons collectively, without any retroſpect individually to the mode of getting in for miniſterial boroughs

* The numerous taxes levied ſince, to pay the annual intereſt of an enormous debt, not exiſting at that time, money was obliged to ſupply the want of lucrative places in the gift of miniſters.

boroughs. Now let us hear Paine ſpeak for himſelf; and ſuppoſe him for a moment attached to the wonderful Mr. PITT, at the time when that gentleman propoſed, and warmly contended for a parliamentary reform.

11. "The right of reform is in the nation in its original character, and the conſtitutional method would be by a general convention elected for that purpoſe."

12. "There is a paradox in the idea of vitiated bodies reforming themſelves."—If in the parliament which empowered itſelf and future parliaments to ſit *ſeven* inſtead of *three* years, a new parliament every two years had been propoſed, is it not abſurd to imagine that a *majority* would have conſented to abridge the term of their exiſting privileges!

"The conſtitution of France ſays, that every man who pays a tax of *ſixty ſous per annum* (two ſhillings and ſixpence Engliſh), is an elector. Can any thing be more limited, and at the ſame time more capricious, than the qualifications of electors in England? Limited, becauſe not one man in a hundred is admitted to vote; Capricious, becauſe the loweſt character that can be ſuppoſed to exiſt, and who has not ſo much as the viſible means of an honeſt livelihood, is an elector in ſome places; while in other places, the man who pays very large taxes, and has a known fair character, and the farmer who rents to the amount of three or four hundred pounds a-year, with a property on that farm to three or four times that amount, is not admitted to be an elector.

"The French conſtitution ſays, that the number of repreſentatives for any place, ſhall be in a ratio to the number of taxable inhabitants or electors.—The county of Yorkſhire, which contains near a million of ſouls, ſends two county members to parliament; and ſo does the county of Rutland, which contains not an hundredth part of that number. The town of Old Sarum (Saliſbury) which contains not three houſes, ſends two members; and the town of Mancheſter, which contains upwards of

ſixty

ſixty thouſand ſouls *, is not admitted to ſend any. Is there any principle in theſe things? Is there any thing by which you can trace the marks of freedom, or diſcover thoſe of wiſdom?"

The French conſtitution ſays there ſhall be no game-laws; that the farmer on whoſe land wild game ſhall be found (for it is by the produce of his land they are fed), ſhall have a right to what he can take—that there ſhall be no *monopolies* of any kind—that all trade ſhall be free, and every man free to follow any occupation by which he can procure a livelihood, and in any place, town, or city throughout the nation."

"In England, game is made the excluſive property of thoſe great men who are not at the expence of feeding it; and with reſpect to monopolies, the country is cut up into monopolies. Is this freedom?—In theſe chartered monopolies, a man coming from another part of the country is hunted from the chartered cities and towns as if he were a foreign enemy. An Engliſhman is not free of his own country; every one of thoſe places preſents a barrier in his way, and tells him he is not a freeman—that he has no right" *there*. Within theſe monopolies are other monopolies. In a city, ſuch for inſtance as Bath, which contains between twenty and thirty thouſand inhabitants, the right of electing repreſentatives in parliament is monopolized by about thirty-one perſons.

"The French conſtitution ſays, that to preſerve the national repreſentation from being corrupt, no member of the National Aſſembly ſhall be an officer of the government, a placeman, or a penſioner." How is it in England? Aſk Henry Dundas, Treaſurer of the Navy and Secretary of State.

The American conſtitution decrees, that no man ſhall be a repreſentative of any place, who is not an inhabitant of

* And the moſt flouriſhing and extenſive manufactures, which, as branches of foreign commerce, require great attention, and conſtitute a natural intereſt in every ſeſſion of parliament.

of the place he repreſents at the time of his eleſtion, nor till he has attained the age of *twenty-five* years. In England, a tyrant, who while he was governor of an Indian dependency on this country, monopolized rice till he produced a dreadful famine, which ſtrewed the ſtreets of the chief city of his government with the putrid carcaſes of the ſtarved inhabitants; or a general, who never ſhewed any generalſhip but at gaming, can buy a borough, paying a certain ſum to the perſon or perſons who have the audacity to call it *their* borough; and far from being an inhabitant, without being perſonally known, except at the time of eleſtion, by any of the eleſtors. As to age it is no conſideration, the firſt boy miniſter's firſt Houſe of Commons was chiefly made up of what my aunt Tabitha uſed to call Hobbydyhoys, between men and boys—of the ſecond we dare not ſay any thing—*caveat* againſt Mr. Attorney-General, friend Ridgway and I do not like the cut of his robe. But ſurely every ſober impartial man muſt be of Lord Lanſdowne's *third* party, who contend for, nay, who will not be denied a ſober moderate reform.

Let us put but this ſimple queſtion, If the Commons of Britain had been properly repreſented upon the principles *either* of the French or the American, or even the Poliſh Conſtitution, would the ſupplies have been voted for carrying on the American war? Certainly not; and the happy conſequence would have been the ſaving upwards of *one hundred* millions of debt; and ſuch a meaſure would have raiſed a monument of eternal gratitude to ſuch an Engliſh *national aſſembly*—not a tranſitory adulatory newſpaper-trophy, ſuch as Mr. Pitt daily takes care to raiſe for the moſt deluſive ſyſtem of finances that ever was held forth through the medium of miſrepreſentation to a people, who of all others are the moſt credulous upon a ſubject of the firſt importance to them and their poſterity.

To the newſpaper puffers of Mr. Pitt's financial abilities, I ſhall only apply Monſ. Meſnager's obſervation. "Theſe

"These writers in England are the best people of the kind that are any where to be found; for they have so many terms to impose upon the people, that nothing I have met with was ever like it; and the people of England, of all the people I have met with, are the fondest of such writings. My writer had an excellent talent, and words enough; and was as well qualified to prove *non-entities* to contain substance, and substance to be entirely *spiritous*, as any one I have met with. I was no judge of his style, having but little of the tongue; but as I kept him entirely secret, I found the people eager to read what he wrote; and frequently his pamphlets, letters, or paragraphs were said to be written by one great lord, or one eminent author or other; and this made them be more called for than ordinary at the publisher's and the writer gained by the sale, besides what I allowed him, which was not inconsiderable.

I shall add one more quotation from the same author, and then proceed with my digest of Paine's Maxims till I come to a conclusion. The late fictitious news from India, so well received, so extensively circulated, and operating so strongly and instantaneously on India stock, induced me to refer to, and extract the following passage.—"As the Whigs industriously improved the time, it was in a moment spread over the whole kingdom, *that the New Ministry were carrying on a private negociation with France.* There wanted not people also who daily spread the report with such confidence, as if they had been privy to every step that had been taken, though that they had any scent of the thing itself as it stood, I never saw cause to believe. But certainly there is not a nation in the world like England, for imposing on the people with false rumours, nor a people easier to be imposed upon, even by things which have not the least probability, and indeed by some that are scarce rational."—No man has experienced the truth of this observation in a greater latitude than Mr. Pitt, who, through the channel of about

twelve

twelve daily and evening papers devoted to his ſervice, has made the people believe juſt what they pleaſed.

13. " It is equally injurious to good principles to permit them to linger, as to puſh them on too faſt. That which others may think accompliſhable in fourteen or fifteen years, I may believe practicable in a much ſhorter period."

14. " Mankind, as it appears to me, are always ripe enough to comprehend their true intereſt, provided it be preſented clearly to their underſtanding, and that in a manner not to create ſuſpicion by any thing like ſelf-deſign, nor offend by aſſuming too much."

15. " It would be an act of deſpotiſm, or what in England is called arbitrary power, to make a law to prohibit inveſtigating the principles good or bad, on which ſuch a law or any other is founded."—But we may try the force of a proclamation, or of newſpaper paragraphs compiled and paid for by our clerks. And as a proof that we are in full poſſeſſion of a majority of printers as well as members; when an honeſt man will no longer act with us, but openly and nobly expoſes the abſurdity and arrogance of our financial operations, we can order them to abuſe and vilify him in every form of words the language will ſupply, and to diſplay thoſe *ſtains* in his private character, which we not only knew whilſt he was our friend and brother counſellor, but which we contenanced and cheriſhed to a blameable degree *.

16. " Mankind are not now to be told that they ſhall not think, or they ſhall not read; and publications that go no farther than to inveſtigate principles of government, to invite men to reaſon and to reflect, and to ſhew the errors and excellence of different ſyſtems, have a right to appear. If they do not excite attention, they are not worthy the trouble of a proſecution, and if they do, the proſecution will

* See the abuſive paragraphs againſt Lord Thurlow in the Herald, the Times, the World, and other Daily Papers; and in the WHITEHALL-EVENING POST.

will amount to nothing, ſince it cannot amount to a prohibition of reading. This would be a ſentence on the public, inſtead of the author, and would alſo be the moſt effectual mode of making or haſtening revolutions."

17. "The defects of every government and conſtitution, both as to principle and form muſt, on a parity of reaſoning, be as open to diſcuſſion as the defects of a law; and it is a duty which every man owes to ſociety to point them out. When thoſe defects, and the means of remedying them are generally ſeen by a nation, that nation will reform its government, or its conſtitution in the one caſe, as it repeals or reforms bad laws in the other.—The operations of government are reſtricted to the making and adminiſtering of laws; but it is to a nation that the right of forming or reforming, of generating or regenerating conſtitutions and governments belongs; and conſequently thoſe ſubjects as ſubjects of inveſtigation, are always before a country *as a matter of right*, and cannot, without invading the general rights of that country be made ſubject to that proſecution."

18. "If ſyſtems of government can be introduced, leſs expenſive, and more productive of general happineſs, than thoſe which have exiſted, all attempts to oppoſe their progreſs will in the end be fruitleſs. Reaſon like time, will make its own way, and prejudice will fall in a combat with intereſt."

19. "Government founded on a *moral theory, on a ſyſtem of univerſal peace, on the indefeaſible, hereditary Rights of Man*, is now revolving from Weſt to Eaſt, by a ſtronger impulſe than the government of the ſword formerly revolved from Eaſt to Weſt. It intereſts *not particular individuals*, but *nations*, in its progreſs, and promiſes a new *Æra* to the human race."

20. "Exceſs and inequality of taxation, however diſguiſed, in the means, never fail to appear in their effects. As a great maſs of the community are thrown thereby into poverty and diſcontent, they are conſtantly on the brink

of

of commotion, and deprived, as they unfortunately are of the means of *true* information *, are easily hated to outrage."

21. "*But*, the danger to which the success of *reforms* is the most exposed, is that of attempting them before the principles on which they proceed, and the advantages to result from them, are sufficiently seen and understood. Almost every thing appertaining to the circumstances of a nation, has been absorbed and confounded under the general and mysterious word government,"—he might have said *administration*, the most mysterious word in the English language. Though it avoids taking to its account the errors it commits, and the mischiefs it occasions, it fails not to arrogate to itself whatever has the appearance of prosperity. It robs industry of its honours, by pedantically making itself the cause of its effects; and purloins from the general character of man, the merits that appertain to him as a social being."

Can we possibly suppose that if governments had not an interest in pursuing wrong principles, the world could have been in the wretched and quarrelsome condition we have seen it? what inducement has the farmer, while following his plough, to lay aside his peaceful labours and go to war with the farmer of another country? Or what inducement has the manufacturer? What is dominion to them, or to any class of men in a nation? Does it add an acre to any man's estate, or raise its value?

Are not conquest and defeat each of the same price, and taxes the never-failing consequence?—Though this reasoning may be good to a nation, it is not so to any existing

F *administration.*

* To the eternal disgrace of Mr. Pitt, the most imperious and insolent minister this country has known since the time of Cardinal Wolsey, it stands on record, that he refused this information to a member of the British parliament; to enable him to complete his History of the Revenue of the British empire. See Sir John Sinclair's introduction to Part III. of that useful work.

administration. War is the Pharo-table of ministers, and nations the dupes of the game.

22. "Government ought to be as much open to improvement as any thing which appertains to man, instead of which it has been monopolized from age to age, by the most ignorant and vicious of the human race. Need we any other proof of this wretched management, than the excess of debts and taxes with which every nation groans, and the quarrels into which they have precipitated the world?

23. "Government is not of itself a very chargeable institution. The whole expence of the federal government of America, extending over a country nearly ten times as large as England, is but *six hundred thousand dollars, or one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds.*"

24. "It is inhuman to talk of a *million Sterling* a-year, paid out of the public taxes of any country, for the support of any individual, whilst *thousands*, who are forced to contribute thereto, are pining with want, and struggling with misery. Government does not consist in a contrast between *prisons* and *palaces*, between pomp and poverty; it is not instituted to rob the needy of his mite, and increase the wretchedness of the wretched."

25. When in countries which are called civilized, we see *age* going to the workhouse, and *youth* to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government. It would seem by the exterior appearance of such countries, that all was happiness; but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance than to expire in poverty or infamy. Its entrance into life is marked with the presage of its fate; and until this is remedied it is vain to punish.

26. Civil government does not consist in *executions*; but in making such provision for the instruction of youth, and the support of age, as to exclude, as much as possible, profligacy from the one, and despair from the other. Instead of this, the resources of a country are lavished upon courts, upon ministers, upon hirelings, impostors, the hereditary successors of royal bastards and prostitutes—and

even

even the poor themſelves, with all their wants upon them, are compelled to ſupport the fraud that oppreſſes them.

And why is this? becauſe the modern mode of adminiſtrating *our conſtitution has undoubtedly been the moſt productive machine of taxation that ever was invented.* The taxes in France, under the new conſtitution, are not quite *thirteen ſhillings* a-head: the taxes in England under the adminiſtration of the preſent immaculate rigidly virtuous PITT the Second, are *two pounds eight ſhillings*, including men, women, and children; amounting to nearly *fourteen millions* a-year.

And once more why is this? Becauſe our excellent adminiſtration are ſo completely taken up with foreign affairs, with watching and vilifying oppoſite parties, in framing and juſtifying unneceſſary and impolitic proclamations and ſecuring majorities; that domeſtic concerns are totally neglected.

A ſober citizen * paying in London, the ſeat of government, upwards of *three pounds* per head to adminiſtration (for the protection of himſelf and family) is knocked down, plundered, bruiſed, and dangerouſly wounded by ruffians in a public ſtreet at *ten* o'clock at night, and he has no remedy, but a reference to a pitiful ill-conducted police-office in Bow-ſtreet—whilſt "a candle holder, or a lord in waiting, a lord of the bed-chamber, a groom of the ſtole, and many other inſignificant court lacquies enjoy *thouſands* a-year paid out of the public taxes—the miniſter of the finances will not offer a reward of *one hundred pounds* for the apprehenſion and conviction of the ſtreet-robber and aſſaſin—yet this was frequently done in attrocious caſes, during the reign of George II. but it is almoſt treaſon to talk of the tranſactions of that æra—We have now—oh happy country! a Scotch Secretary of State, who deteſts the mention and memory of the good old King!

But we are deluded by our perpetual adulation of the wonderful miniſter, who in fact all this while has been the young cub, held in a ſtring by his leader Dundas, who for ſome

* Mr. Walker hoſier, in Oxford-Street, and many others.

ſome time was kept in the back ground, but now ſtands foremoſt in the portraiture of the preſent bleſſed adminiſtration. For ſhame, let us hear no more of our boaſted proſperous ſtate from Burke, Chalmers, or any other ariſtocratical enthuſiaſt, or hireling, until the picture bears a ſtronger reſemblance to Paine's features of a happy nation—touched up by another maſter. "When it ſhall be ſaid in any country in the world—my poor are happy; neither ignorance nor diſtreſs is to be found amonſt them; my jails are empty; no priſoners are lingering out years of miſerable ſlavery for debt at the mercy of hardened individuals—my ſtreets are free from beggars, aſſaſſins, and thieves made ſo by want, brought upon them by oppreſſive taxes—and the exorbitant price of proviſions—the aged are not in want—my taxes are moderate and equal—my prieſthood are humble, modeſt, unaſſuming, watchful over the intereſts of chriſtianity, and above all ſolicituous to prevent religious quarrels by their perſonal example and their writings—my magiſtrates do not harbour and keep in pay a ſet of villains of worſe principles and characters than thoſe whom they tranſport or bring to the gallows—when hundreds of *bar-doors* drinking poiſonous ſpirituous liquors privately—and hundreds of public houſes more than are neceſſary, which bring thouſands of my people to untimely graves, are not licenſed in order to increaſe the revenue, by an immoderate conſumption of exciſed liquors—then may that country boaſt of a ſuper-excellent miniſter, and a diſintereſted adminiſtration.

Conclusion.

"No queſtion has ariſen within the records of hiſtory that preſſed with importance equal to the preſent. It is not whether this or that *party* ſhall be *in* or *out*: or *Whig* or *Tory*, or *high* or *low* ſhall prevail; but whether *man* ſhall inherit his rights, and univerſal civilization take place. Whether the fruits of his labours ſhall be enjoyed by himſelf, or conſumed by the profligacy of miniſters

and

and their adherents? Whether robbery shall be banished from courts, and wretchedness from nations?

28. It is always the interest of a far greater number of the people in a nation to have things right, than to let them remain wrong; and when public matters are open to debate, and the public judgment free, it will not decide wrong, unless it decides hastily.

29. A little matter will move *a party*, but it must be something great that moves a nation."

30. I do not believe that the people of England have been fairly and candidly treated.——They have been imposed upon by *parties*, and by men assuming the character of *leaders*. It is time that the nation should rise above such trifles. It is time to dismiss that *inattention* which has so long been the encouraging cause of stretching *taxation* to excess. It is time to dismiss all those *songs* and *toasts* which are calculated to enslave, and operate to suffocate reflection. On all such subjects men have but to think, and they will neither act wrong nor be misled. To say that any people are not fit for freedom, is to make poverty their choice, and to say that they had rather be loaded with taxes than not. If such a case could be proved, it would equally prove, that those who govern are not fit to govern them, for they are part of the same national mass.

On Religion.

If our author had never written a single line more than the following fine definition of, and observations upon religion; this alone would have entitled him to the praise of good men; and to a place in the temple of worthies!

" Every religion is good that teaches man to be good; and I know of none that teaches him to be bad. But all partialities and prejudices for, or against different modes and forms of religion *aside*—common justice will determine, whether there ought to be an income of *twenty* or *thirty* pounds

pounds a year, to one priest at the altar of the living God! and of *ten thousand pounds* to another!

" I have, however, carefully avoided enlarging upon the subject, because I am inclined to believe, that what is called the present ministry, wish to see contentions about religion, and disputing and wrangling about CHURCH and MEETING kept up, to prevent the nation turning its attention to subjects of government. It is, as if they were to say, *look that way, or any way, but this.*"

" But as religion is very improperly made a political machine, and the reality of it is thereby destroyed, I will conclude this work with stating in what light religion appears to me.

" If we suppose a large family of children, who, on any particular day, or particular circumstance, made it a custom to present to their parents some token of their affection and gratitude, each of them would make a different offering, and most probably in a different manner. Some would pay their congratulations in verse or prose; by some little devices, as their genius dictated, or according to what they thought would please; and perhaps the least of all, not able to do any of those things, would ramble into the garden or the field, and gather what it thought the prettiest flower it could find, though, perhaps, it might be but a simple weed. The parent would be more gratified by such variety, than if the whole of them had acted on a concerted plan, and each had made exactly the same offering. This would have the cold appearance of contrivance, or the harsh one of controul. But of all unwelcome things, nothing could more afflict the parents than to know that the whole of them had afterwards gotten together by the ears, boys and girls, fighting, scratching, reviling and abusing each other, about which was the best or the worst present.

" Why may we not suppose, that the great Father of all is pleased with variety of devotion; and that the greatest offence we can commit, is that by which we seek to torment and render each other miserable. For my own

part,

part, I am fully satisfied that what I am now doing, with an endeavour to conciliate mankind, to render their condition happier, to unite nations that have been hitherto enemies, to extirpate the horrid practice of war; and to break the chains of slavery and oppression, is acceptable in his sight; and being the best service I can perform, I do it cheerfully."

FINIS.